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## THE NEWLY DISCOVERED CHANÇUN DE WILLAME.

### II.

THE analysis given of the poem shows that the two redactions of the battle of the Archamp differ not only in their geography, but in their personages as well. The two central heroes are of course common to both; aside from them, however, the lists of heroes present various differences and discrepancies which are doubtless highly significant. A fitting discussion of these points would lead us too far afield, and would at the same time offer several problems insolvable at this stage of our knowledge. A brief statement of one or two of these difficulties will serve to show what a fruitful source of inquiry is disclosed in this part of the *Chanson de Willame*.

Among the solemn injunctions sent by Vivien about to die is one to his brother Guiot, *sun petit frere*, bidding him to hasten to his rescue.<sup>1</sup> We are certainly warranted in expecting that Gui will accompany the expedition of relief, but he nowhere appears until the "second" expedition, the one which has been called B.<sup>2</sup> There is something suspicious in his introduction here, for his appearance in l. 1435 interrupts a passage which is almost verbatim from A. To speak more clearly, there is a passage beginning in l. 1400 and extending to 1435 which is practically identical with one occurring earlier: 1041-58. The episode beginning in l. 1435 ends at l. 1482, and is immediately followed by twenty-five lines, which, in almost identical form, occur at the close of the earlier passage mentioned. In other words, B contains about sixty lines which are found, in somewhat briefer compass it is true, in A. In A, however, these lines are continuous, while in B they are divided (at l. 1435) by the intercalation of an episode treating of Gui. At least two subsequent passages

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 678 ff. (cf. this JOURNAL, Vol. II, p. 5) and 998 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1435 ff.

show something analogous in connection with this young hero. One seems obliged to admit either that B has inserted here a development of the original story, or that A, which is visibly abbreviated, formerly contained the episode.

Several other things combine to make the presence in B of Gui appear an innovation. In the passage beginning at l. 1508 we read that Gui weeps at being detained at home, while his uncle goes away to battle without the company of a single member of the family. It looks, however, from ll. 1720-22 as if he must have been accompanied by several relatives, for five of his nephews are here taken prisoners. Again, an examination of the names of the nephews who are captured shows that Gui and Guichart are never mentioned in the same list; where the one is mentioned, the other is omitted. Another point of value: Guibor says after the battle, in inquiring for the welfare of Gui, that she had intrusted him with the standard of King Mabon (the pagan enchanter?), the horse of Oliver the Gascon, and the hauberc and helm of Tibaut l'Esclavon (ll. 2357-61). Not one of these indications fits Gui, whose *adoubement* has already been described (ll. 1540-49).

The supposition that Gui figured in A and lost his life there originally is strengthened by the fact that *Foucon* and N, which here preserve an ancient version, name him as one of the three nephews who are captured. There is little doubt that these three prisoners are the three nephews who evidently all perished in the source whence A came.

The contradictions and difficulties surrounding the appearance of Gui in the *Willame* are an almost infallible sign of awkward "editing." The necessity for this may have arisen from the fact that his name occurred, under circumstances hard to reconcile, in the originals of both A and B.

The passage, ll. 1720-25, which announces the taking prisoner of the five nephews or cousins is certain to be one of the most frequently discussed in the entire epic. We are told all at once in this passage that the five heroes—Bertram, Guielin, Guischard (evidently supposed to be a different hero from the one of this name in the preceding part of the poem), Galter de Termes, and

Reiner—are seized and made prisoners by the Saracens.<sup>1</sup> The surprising thing about this is that not one of these heroes, as far as we are aware, has been mentioned up to this time. If any of them are originally the same as those of similar or identical name in A, the *remanieurs* certainly do not want us to suspect the fact. How can the presence of the five cousins be explained? Evidently all was clear and logical in the original sources. The apparition of these personages surprises us, not alone by its suddenness, but by the fact, already cited, that Gui has just spoken of his uncle's departing unaccompanied by any relative.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, ll. 1671–75 certainly give the impression that Guillaume is unaccompanied by other relatives than Gui, for at the beginning of the battle he bids Gui take his position at his right hand, saying that with him he fears no treachery.<sup>3</sup> We can with difficulty justify this language if the hero is accompanied by the faithful Bertram, not to mention the other nephews. With regard to the sudden introduction of the nephews, it stands to reason that the sources must have contained a passage or passages mentioning their presence. The omission of such passages is easily understandable, in view of the condensation which is apparent in all this part of the poem, and in view of the soldering together at this point of two redactions. We already know, in fact, that something has been lost at this point, because of the strange transfer of the action from Barcelona to Orange; we have seen Guibor at the former city, and have seen Guillaume flee thither after his defeat; we naturally suppose that he sets out

<sup>1</sup> This passage, the second line of which should read, *Et Guielins et Guischars li vaillans*, is as follows:

1720 La fu pris le neveu Willame Bertram,  
Et Guielin, et li vaillant quons Guischard,  
Galter de Termes, et Reiner le combatant;  
Estreit les unt liez sarazins et persant.  
Veant le cunte, les meinent as chalans.  
1725 Que unques de rien ne lur poet estre garant.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1508 ff. The three most important lines of the passage are here given:

1520 Par mi cel tertre vei mun seignur aler.  
Vilment chevalche a bataille champel,  
Od lui n'ameine nul sun ami charnel.

<sup>3</sup> It should be said that this passage occurs almost verbatim in A (ll. 465–72), where the words are directed by Vivien to Girart, and where they fit much better. The mention of treachery would be especially fitting in view of the betrayal of Tedbalt and Estormi. Several things in this scene remind one of the admirable tableau in the closing lines of the *Covenant*.

from Barcelona on his second expedition, and that he will return thither, but we learn all at once (l. 2054) that he is, in this second flight, going to Orange! It seems clear that the beginning of what we have called B has been lopped off, and that the lines cut away contained a statement that the five young heroes went with the second army, which, by the way, must have started from Orange.

The question is perhaps more complicated than is here indicated. To be sure, if B is simply derived from A, nothing seems more reasonable than to say that the three nephews who perished in A are represented in the derived poem as being taken prisoners, and that their number has increased to five. Such an increase would be thoroughly in keeping with a decadent change in the legend. But it is at least possible that some of these heroes were the companions of Guillaume in the victorious expedition which may be supposed to have closed the primitive epic. Of course, nearly everything relating to the conclusion of this poem is a matter of conjecture, but there is no doubt that the poem ended with a victory of the Christians, and it is almost equally certain that this victory was won on the very site of the defeat, in the Archamp. The primitive poem appears to have consisted of these events: the attack against Vivien in the Archamp, and his death; the tardy arrival of Guillaume; his defeat and flight to his city, where he finds that preparations have already been made for a new army, among whose leaders is Bertram and perhaps one or two other nephews; this second expedition leaves immediately, and gains a complete victory on the site of the defeat; the body of Vivien is found and buried with Christian rites.<sup>1</sup> The sequence of these events, even as to their

<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough, the sequence of events here outlined is found in Orderic Vital's account of the attempt of Alfonso of Aragon to take Fraga, 1135 A. D.; *vide* LE PREVOST, "Orderic Vitalis," *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. of the Soc. de l'Hist. de Fr., Vol. V, pp. 19-23, and *Prise de Cordres*, pp. xlv-lxviii, where M. Densusianu calls attention to the resemblance between this narration and the story of *Aliscans*. This resemblance, be it noted, is much greater in the light of the *Willame* and of the reconstruction of the battle of the Archamp which imposes itself. This battle, as the writer of these lines has for some years asserted, was fought near Tolosa, on or near the Ebro, and the battle of Fraga took place not far from this spot, near the confluence of the Ebro and the Segre. The real events of the battle as fought by Alfonso were not as given by Orderic. The supposition must be that he altered them, and made them resemble the story of the defeat of Guillaume as we have outlined it, his flight, his return, his victory. Let us note, too, that the name of the Saracen chief, Alzobeyr, may have passed later into *Aliscans* as Aucebier.

conclusion, has left profound traces in *Aliscans*. In this epic, to be sure, as in the *Willame*, the primitive *dénouement* has been cut away and replaced by that of an independent poem, the *Renoart*. The main events of this latter poem, and especially its conclusion, took place at Orange, yet we find on all sides in the second part of *Aliscans* the statement that the battle that is imminent is to be fought in the Archant or in Aliscans sur mer; *vide* ll. 3313, 3365, 3995, 4478, 4485, 5269, etc. The ancient conclusion of the original epic is still so powerful that it drags away from the walls of Orange the triumphant Saracens, and transfers them against all rime or reason to the Archant.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, evidence that in one form at least of the legend the army which was to win the victory set out from Orange is seen in the absurd lengths to which the *remanieurs* have gone in making the army start from this city in *Aliscans*. These two points—the inexplicable departure of the enemy, and the incredible entry into and setting out from Orange of the Christians—go hand in hand, and both bear witness to the stubborn mold in which the ancient epic was cast.<sup>2</sup> This tenacity of the old legend, thus making itself felt through sources independent and entirely foreign, is an object-lesson in epic fusion. The circumstances indicate oral tradition acting as a conservative force, tending constantly to restore the familiar outlines. In view of the many traces of the *dénouement* of the primitive epic preserved in the conclusion of *Aliscans* and the *Willame*, what more likely than that several of the young nephews so suddenly taken prisoners are among those who accompanied Guillaume in the victorious expedition which ended the ancient poem? It may be, indeed, that all five of these heroes come from that source. The presence of the nephews being a familiar trait of the victorious expedition, their retention in some way was almost imperative. The glory of the new hero, *Renoart*, was heightened by ascribing to him the liberation of the prison-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* "Messenger in Aliscans," *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, Harvard University, Vol. V, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> It is perfectly apparent, for a number of reasons, that the Christian army did not enter Orange until after the battle.

ers, who, thus set free, played, as originally, a part in the victory of the Archamp.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the above statements it becomes clear that what has been called B is something more than a later version of A. It appears rather to be a combination of such a later version and retainable traits of the victorious expedition which formed the solution of the primitive epic.

It will be well at this moment to mention briefly the more important episodes and events of B which seem to be derived from others in A.

One of the first things that strike us in reading the first seventeen hundred lines of the *Willame* is the repetition of whole lines and passages.<sup>2</sup> If we examine these closely, we shall find that there are more than sixty lines of what has been called A which are found again, frequently verbatim, in B. These passages concern the departure of Guillaume for the Archamp and the battle. The passages in the latter division are longer, and are at times separated into two or even three parts by the apparent insertion of an extraneous episode.<sup>3</sup>

The place of the battle (the Archamp), the spot where the engagement is joined (Terre Certaine), the name of the Saracen commander, the number of soldiers in the Christian army—all these are identical in the two expeditions which have been called A and B.<sup>4</sup>

The death of Vivien in A finds a pendant in B, with all of the signs characteristic of a later version.

<sup>1</sup> In the original story of *Renoart* there were no prisoners. The episode of the captured nephews, then, can come only from a version of the battle of the Archamp, in which, as in N and in *Foucon*, there were prisoners. As to the events of the *Renoart*, scholars will at last probably admit that they are shown with rare fidelity in N, Vol. II, pp. 481 ff. The major part of the poem is, as has been here said, preserved in the *Willame*, necessarily with many slight changes. The beginning of the poem, to the extent of about two hundred lines, is lacking in Old French, save as it is preserved at the conclusion of the *Enfances Vivien*, MS, 1448; vide the edition of WAHLUND and FEILITZEN, pp. 257 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vide ll. 465-72, 1671-78; 772-76, 912-18, 1211-15; 1041-81, 1400-31, 1483-1503; 1082-1106, 1504-7, 1561-63, 1679-1702.

<sup>3</sup> The appearance of Gui is often the occasion for one of these interruptions, and this fact has been taken, with other things, to indicate that his rôle belonged to A.

<sup>4</sup> As to the city whence the Christian armies march, in the first case it is Barcelona; in the second case the presumption is that the departure takes place from the same city. We are surprised later to learn that the hero is fleeing to Orange. If we are dealing with two redactions of the same events, one being placed after the other, the city from which departure is made in the later one is probably Orange.

The carrying back to Barcelona of the body of Guibor's nephew, Guichart, whom Guillaume had promised to bring back dead or alive, is evidently the source of the attempt of Guillaume in B to carry the body of Vivien to Orange.<sup>1</sup>

The nephews slain in A correspond to the nephews imprisoned in B.

In both accounts the hero loses his entire army and flees alone.

Barcelona in A corresponds to Orange in B—a change highly significant in itself.

A number of minor points might be added to the above, all looking in the same direction. Similarly, an examination of the character of the hero and heroine in the two parts of the poem in question offers valuable evidence tending to show that B is, to a considerable extent, derived by natural descent from A.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The awkwardness and almost grotesqueness of the attempt of the hero to carry the body of a grown man, clad in armor, from the Archamp to Orange, in the midst of thousands of enemies, has not been sufficiently noticed. The fact that such an attempt was ascribed to the hero by the *remanieurs* at a time when there was still current knowledge that the Archamp was in Spain only makes clearer the derivation of this episode from that of Guibor's nephew. Its unreasonableness is significant.

<sup>2</sup> In a few points one may suspect that omissions and alterations have destroyed further parallels. Indeed, there must have been some slight effort at editing in the combination of the two redactions. It is likely, for example, that Guibor aided in gathering the army with which the hero first sets out, as she does in the second expedition. Again, among possible changes—the result of accident or of conscious editing—the death of Deramé may have been transferred from A to B. The death of Alderufe seems an interpolated imitation of that of Deramé.

The above considerations concerning the supposed two redactions are offered as a tentative solution of what must be recognized as one of the most difficult problems of the *Chanson de Willame*. There are two strong objections against the hypothesis that B is merely a later redaction of A. In the first place, if this is the case, why is not the list of captured nephews a simple extension of the list of A? Is it sufficient to say that such is, in fact, the case, but that the second list has been "edited" for the occasion? Another objection, and one more grave: external and internal evidence indicates that the *Chanson de Guillaume* was sung for considerable time with the reduplication seen in the *Willame*—the reduplication which has been here called two redactions. It is hard to believe this possible. We can see that a given scribe might have had before him an ancient manuscript and a "contemporary" one derived therefrom through a considerable number of intermediaries. We can understand how one of these, with its center of action near Barcelona, may have seemed to the scribe a different poem from the other, whose center seemed to be at Orange. So far, so good; but how can we believe that the product of the unskilful "editing" of our scribe should obtain such vogue as to become the accredited form of the legend, for such it became? A brilliant and successful *remaniement*, the result of so careless a blunder, would be without example in the epic history of the language. *Aliscans*, be it said in passing, is derived from the reduplicated form of the legend (although *Foucon* is not), and traces of it are perhaps to be seen in the recital of Raimon Feraud, who speaks of a second defeat of the Christians in Aliscamps—which for him means at Arles—on the spot where Vivien fell, and in the *Roman d'Arles*, where the Christians are defeated and reduced to flight several times in "Aliscam, davant Arle le Blant;" *vide Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 523, 496 ff. Note 1, p. 118, and p. xxvii, of ROLIN's ed. of *Aliscans*, are interesting here.



A number of passages of the *Chanson de Willame* will now be passed rapidly in review, either for elucidation or to draw attention to their importance for the development of the legend.

The first few hundred lines of the epic were destined soon to be lost, or, rather, as we see them in the poem, they are in the process of disappearing. Beyond doubt, in the *Chanson de Guillaume*—a title which may be taken to indicate the French original of the Norman French *Willame*—these lines existed in much clearer and more logical form. They certainly set forth the circumstances which brought on the Saracen invasion, and the episode of the cowards who abandon the young hero must have been more rationally unfolded. It is not until we reach l. 465 that we are at all on firm ground.

L. 2: The mention of Deramé as the leader of the enemy indicates that Tibaut, the legendary antagonist of Guillaume, may have disappeared from the epic stage. This point will be considered in connection with ll. 665 ff.

L. 5: At the very threshold of the poem it is stated that the scene of the invasion is the Archamp.<sup>1</sup> There is no escaping the overwhelming testimony of the *Willame* as to the name of the battlefield and as to the country in which this field is located.

The fact that the epic, as is evinced by the opening *laissez*, is in assonance brushes away the assertions of a certain school of critics that *Aliscans* never existed in assonance. The same critics have in general been equally unfortunate in asserting that *Aliscans* was a literary unit, the work of a single poet, and that no older form of it ever existed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A brief statement of most of the arguments showing that this region is near Tortosa has been already given: MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. II, pp. 13-15. Let it be added that a valuable indication of the geography of the Archamp is to be found in the rhymed *Roland* manuscripts of Châteauroux and Venice, VII; *vide Das altfr. Rolandslied*, edited by W. FÖRSTER, Vol. VI of the *Altfr. Bibliothek*, p. 228. The Saracen fleet is approaching Spain and is to go up the Ebro (called Sebre) to Saragossa. The pertinent lines read: "Perse constoient, l'Archant et Balaguer, Et Portpalart, Orabloi et Belcler." The enemy go up the river past Tortelose, which is the usual name in Old French for Tortosa. Nearly all these names are known to us among the Catalanian conquests of Vivien and Guillaume. Orabloi is the Arrabloi of *Foucon*, evidently near Candie, as is, according to the same poem, Belcler. Candie is Gandia, to the south of Catalonia, in Valencia.

<sup>2</sup> C. GADE, *Ueber Sprache u. Metrum v. Aliscans* (Marburg, 1890); E. WIENBECK, *Aliscans*, I, Dissertation (Halle, 1901), p. 3; P. RASCH, *Aliscans*, III, Dissertation (Halle, 1902), pp. 22 (cf., however, pp. 9, 10), 25; PH. AUG. BECKER, *Altfr. Wilhelmsage*, 1896, pp. 48, 103; *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XIX, p. 114. On the other hand, JONCKBLOET, as the date

L. 15: *Entred que si mal des cunorted* is manifestly corrupt, as is shown by its obscurity, and by the fact that there are three variations of the line: *vide* 41, 962. The line probably contained a geographical name which was not understood, such as Terrascone. The epic contains a number of cases where a name has been thus altered.

L. 292 sets at rest the discussion as to whether Vivien's vow is primitive; cf. ll. 586, 597, 810, 903, 2018 ff. The usual opinion has been that the vow was not primitive.

Ll. 297-99 are of the utmost importance, giving the earliest version extant of the family descent of Vivien:

Ja fustes fiz Boeve cornebut al marchis,  
Nez de la fille al bon cunte Aimeris,  
Nefs Willame al curbnies le marchis.<sup>1</sup>

Before the discovery of the *Chanson de Willame* it was admitted by all except one or two critics that the father of our young hero was not Garin, but that he was a nephew to Guillaume by a sister, thus furnishing another example of sororal nepotage. This relationship is assigned him in the *Willehalm*, in *Foucon*, and in the chronicle of Alberic des Trois Fontaines. According to the *Enfances Vivien*, the *Covenant*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and *N*, his father was Garin. *Aliscans*, in reality, makes him the son of a sister, as is indicated by l. 39 in Rolin's edition (l. 34 of the new edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch), *Et a Guillaume le fil de sa soror*, one of the most valuable lines in the entire poem.<sup>2</sup> The *remanieurs* of this epic evidently knew the Garin legend, however, and endeavored to observe it, as will appear later.

which he assigns to *Aliscans* indicates, believes that the epic was first written in association: *Guill. d'Orange*, Vol. II, p. 168; similarly GUESSARD AND MONTAIGLON, in their edition of the poem, pp. xxviii, lxxvii; ROLIN, *Aliscans*, *statim*.

<sup>1</sup> This genealogy is repeated for Guiot later on:

1435 Del feu se dresce un suen neveu, dan Gui.  
Cil fud fiz Boeve cornebut le marchis,  
Neez de la fille al pruuuz cunte Aemeris,  
Neveu Willame, al bon cunte marchis,  
Et fud frere Vivien le hardiz.

<sup>2</sup> It is certainly a question here of the death of Vivien. MR. ROLIN, p. viii, n. 2, says that Milon is meant, who in the *Willehalm* is slain by Deramé. The author, however, says on p. 2, n. 6, that one must read the line: "Et dan G. Vivian, son nevolt." These passages contradict each other, but the latter has the true idea. *Foucon* contains a passage like this: *Et dit qu'il li a mort le fil de sa seror*, meaning Vivien. It may be observed, in passing, that this l. 34 shows that the nephew was already dead when the action begins. In other words, it bears witness to the same sequence of events as is found in the *Willame* and in *N*.

In the *Willame* the father is called "Boeve cornebut al marchis" (or "le marchis"). M. Meyer prints: "marquis Beuve Cornebut."<sup>1</sup> We have rather to do with a vitiation of the word Comarcis. A good deal of confusion is seen in the proper names, especially in the first part of the poem. Beuve de Comarcis appears by name several times: "Boeves de Somarchiz, quons la cité" (l. 2560), "quons Boeves de Cormarchiz sun frere" (l. 2930), "li quons Boeve de Comarchis le ber" (l. 2985). The *Willame* makes Vivien and Guiot sons of Beuve de Comarcis by a daughter of Aymeri. It is implied, further, that Beuve is dead (l. 297), which not only explains how the sons could be brought up by Guibor, but lends a fuller meaning to l. 827 of *Aliscans*, where Guillaume says to his dying nephew: *Je suis tes oncles, n'as ore plus prochain*. The mention of Beuve in the *Willame* is the earliest in the French sources. This hero does not appear in either the *Fragment de la Haye* or in the *Pélerinage*. In the opinion of Mr. O. Densusianu, Beuve was not admitted to the epic family of Guillaume until the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> The mention in the first part of the *Willame* offers a redaction which goes back to the eleventh. In the second part Beuve is a brother of Guillaume.<sup>3</sup> We thus see going on before our eyes in the *Willame* the formation of an epic family.<sup>4</sup> Beuve is first said to have married a sister of the great hero; he is then called a brother. Just why Beuve was replaced by Garin is not clear at this stage of our information, but the explanation may be wrapped up in the history of Beuve and his two alleged sons, Gui and Girart.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 609.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, Vol. XXV, p. 495; *Prise de Cordres*, p. xxxvi, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Beuve says, l. 2561: *Jo sui sun frere, se ne li puis faillir*. Cf. l. 2930.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. PARIS, *Romania*, Vol. IX, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>5</sup> M. A. JEANROY, *Romania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 198, n. 4, speaks of the late ascription to Vivien of Garin as father. He rightly says also that *Aliscans* does not state this relationship. He commits an oversight, however, in his table, p. 207, where the epic in question is said to ascribe to our young hero Garin. It is not impossible that at one time Ernaut was said to be the father of Vivien. This would explain the strange Viviano della ciera grifagnia mentioned as a son of Ernaut. For this name vide O. DENSUSIANU, *Prise de Cordres*, p. viii. A second son is named Guidolino, which is an equivalent for Guiot. Andrea may have found sources setting forth this relationship, and he may not have understood that the heroes were the same. It may be observed, in passing, that Beuve d'Aigremont has a son Vivien, and that Vivien's brother, Guichart, is called in *Foucon* G. de Montagu: p. 111, ed. TARBÉ.

Ll. 349 ff.: We see here Tedbalt and Estormi, his nephew, who abandon Vivien. Girart is following them, why we know not, nor did we know him to be present. Can he be fleeing with the others? The circumstances of a scene in the *Enfances Vivien*—a scene evidently derived from this one—enlighten us somewhat.<sup>1</sup> Girart is here replaced by Bertran (*vide Enfances*, ll. 3562 ff.), who has not yet been armed knight. He sees all about him preparations for a battle, in which, not being allowed to bear arms, he can take no part. His request to be armed knight is refused, and a few moments later he sees, among those who are to have the honor of fighting, Estormi, *le plus coart chevalier de Berri*. His sense of justice runs away with him, he knocks Estormi from the saddle, and seizes his arms and horse. These events in the newer poem explain why Girart is following the cowards in l. 349 of the *Willame*. It is Tedbalt and not Estormi whom Girart throws from his horse and disarms, according to the latter poem. As soon as Tedbalt is able to rise, he springs on the pack horse, which Girart has left instead of his mount, and is forced, in his mad flight, to dash through a flock of sheep, one of which is caught in his stirrup. When he reaches the bridge at Bourges, the head of the sheep alone remains in the stirrup. This comical scene is immediately followed by another, in which the young hero inflicts somewhat similar indignities upon Estormi.

It will be noted that in the *Enfances* the hero of the sheep is Estormi, not Tedbalt. Furthermore, in the *Enfances* there is only one episode, that of the seizure of the arms. At its close the statement is made that Estormi later, *En la bataille Vivien lou vaillant*, in the sight of thousands of knights, fled on horseback, dragging a sheep at his stirrup.<sup>2</sup> The *Enfances* are probably right in ascribing the episodes to Estormi, and the older poem wrong in its mention of Tedbalt. A number of points indicate this. The two episodes did not occur originally in the same poem. The seizing of the arms occurred probably in the primitive *Enfances Vivien*, and the other scene in the *Bataille de*

<sup>1</sup> M. MEYER draws attention to the relationship between these two scenes: *loc. cit.*, p. 604, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Enfances*, V, ll. 3805 ff. *Destrier*, in l. 3810, should be *estrier*.

*l'Archamp*. The present poem places them side by side. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Estormi to be the actor in both, as a moment's reflection will show.<sup>1</sup>

Ll. 370 ff.: It is a question here of a famous shield which Vivien took in the battle *as prez de Girunde*, spoken of later (ll. 635 ff.) as the *champ del Saraguce*. He boasts of having slain in that fight Alderufe, and the twelve sons of Borrel. The epic in which these events were sung has been lost. The mention of Borrel is to be placed by the side of that in the *Fragment*, and offers an unexpected support of the suggestion of G. Paris that the siege and battle of the *Fragment* were drawn from a poem, the *Prise de Girone*.<sup>2</sup> H. Suchier has recently tried to prove that the battle of the *Fragment* was probably at Narbonne, but his learned argument failed to carry conviction before the discovery of the *Willame*, and is now indefensible.<sup>3</sup> The only thing which could make one hesitate to see in the passage under discussion a reference to the battle of the *Fragment* is the mention in l. 635 of the site of the struggle as the *champ del Saraguce*. If we have to choose between Girone and Saragossa, we shall have to incline in favor of the former, in view of the evidence offered by G. Paris. Again, considering the alterations in proper names which mark the first part especially of the poem, the words

<sup>1</sup> A number of minor points help out this reasoning, showing that Estormi, and not Tedbalt, fled, *a son estrier un mouton trainant*. The two *laissez* in -i are perhaps suggestive; the matter of the *gunfanum* (ll. 262, 278, 280, 286), reminds one of the passage in the *Enfances* where they say to Estormi that henceforth he is to bear the olifant, that they will witness his prowess, and later that of the one who took his arms (ll. 3793-3800); we note precisely this sequence in the *Willame*, for, after having seen the cowardice of Estormi, we read the excellent lines where Vivien, abandoned by Estormi and the cowards, bids Girart take position at his right hand, wave his *gunfanum*; with him Vivien has no fear of treachery; it is to be noted, too, that references to the gentle birth and wealth of the actor in the scene with the sheep (*vide* ll. 402-4, 464) favor Estormi: cf. *Enfances*, ll. 3813-15; finally, it is likely that the puzzling l. 3053 of *Aliscans*—*Est ce la fable du tor et du mouton*—should read: *Est ce la fable Estormi al mouton*. This is not the occasion to discuss the question whether the major part of the episodes where Tedbalt and Estormi appear are not drawn from the lost *Enfances*; there are constant reminders of the present *Enfances* and of the expeditions for the relief of Vivien in Galicia, in N; cf., for instance, ll. 449 ff. with N, Vol. I, pp. 481 ff., and *vide*, for the expedition of relief in the modern *Enfances*, W. CLOETTA, "Die Enf. Viv.," *Romanische Studien*, Heft IV (Berlin, 1898), pp. 50-59. These episodes of the cowards in the *Willame* were really of a fine literary quality, as their present defaced condition still allows us to see. Ll. 240 ff., for example, are of an excellent comic effect, while ll. 402-4 afford a distinct glimpse into the social conditions under which the *chanson* was sung.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire Poétique*, pp. 50, 51, 84-86; *Romania*, Vol. IX, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Narbonnais*, Vol. II, pp. lxxvi ff.

*champ del Saraguce* may possibly be an echo of the French for *campi strigilis*, the mysterious appellation of the fields near the city in the Latin of the *Fragment*.

The shield taken is evidently that of Alderufe, and we find here the earliest mention of the famous armor of Aerofle.<sup>1</sup> It is now apparent that the legend which makes this hero fall by the hand of Guillaume, and which has passed, in what some scholars have accepted as authoritative form, into the *Moniage*, I,<sup>2</sup> does not possess the ancient value frequently ascribed to it. We shall find this account, however, in a subsequent passage of the *Chanson de Willame*.

Ll. 473: This scene seems to be that of a column of relief, rather than that of a division of Vivien's army. Note, too, that ll. 452 ff. are the first of a series in which the young hero seems to be expecting immediate aid.

Ll. 479, 480: A corruption of the name Willame Ferebrace.

Ll. 622 ff.: These lines begin one of the most valuable passages in the entire epic, for in the charge which Vivien gives Girart occur a number of references to past events, several of which are unknown to us from the existing *chansons de geste*. One of these allusions (ll. 635 ff.) has already been mentioned. With regard to the horse of Girart (l. 630), N shows us that Vivien had just enabled his cousin to mount a captured horse.<sup>3</sup>

L. 633: *Que par la lune me alasses a Willame*, a somewhat striking line in its present form, contains a corruption of a proper name, and should read: *a Barzelune* (cf. ll. 931, 932). There is no moon whatever in the recital of Girart's journey. He sets out at once, by day. What city is meant by "Limenes" in l. 650

<sup>1</sup> Before the appearance of *Willame* the author had gathered the material for an article on this hero, and had decided that the celebrated episode of *Aliscans* was spurious, in that Aerofle had originally been slain by Bertran or, possibly, by Vivien, and not by Guillaume. We now see that Alderufe is probably the legendary enemy of Vivien, called in N Maltribol. The disappearance of the poem in which Vivien slew him, as above said, allowed him to be depicted in a series of passages as living and as Vivien's great enemy. One of these later, yet very ancient, legends represented the two heroes as killing each other in battle (cf. N and the *Willehalm*). The legend of *Aliscans* is relatively modern. See later for this event in the *Willame*.

<sup>2</sup> W. CLOETTA, "Die beiden altfranzösischen Epen von Moniage Guillaume," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XCIII, p. 434. MR. PR. A. BECKER rightly judges this passage: *Altfranzösische Willehalm*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, p. 156.

(cf. l. 988) is not clear. M. Meyer suggests as a possibility Luiserne, but this is inadmissible, being a late legend and a conquest made for Vivien himself, not for his uncle. It will be noticed that he mentions no battle fought in his own interest. Nismes would be a better venture than Luiserne, in spite of the newness of the legend ascribing to Guillaume the conquest of that city.<sup>1</sup> The references in ll. 651, 652 are obscure, as is the strange name *Turlenlerei* (l. 655), written *Turleislerei* in l. 978. One thinks at once of the episode at Tours, in the *Couonnement*, where Louis was present, but there was no pitched battle on that occasion, and no Saracens. According to MS C, however, Vivien was with his uncle. The faithful friend Raher (l. 662; Rahel, l. 984) may be Rabel, considered a cousin of Vivien. The ll. 665-75 are among the most important in the poem.<sup>2</sup> They contain an account of a battle fought with Tibaut under the walls of Orange. This battle is nothing less than the one which closed the long siege of the city, and as described in the eleven lines of this passage the events are almost exactly as related in N.<sup>3</sup> The passage tells us: that the battle took place at Orange; that the leader of the enemy was Tedbald l'Esturman; that the French were victorious, largely through the efforts of Vivien, who arrived with his uncle Bernard de Bruban, and who had as his companion Bertram, one of the bravest of heroes; that Vivien was aided by the Normans; and that he slew there Tedbald. The account of N differs in the following points: Vivien comes to join the Christian army at its rallying-place, Pierrelate, in company with Bertram, Aïmer, and others. (The entire army then proceeds to Orange, hence it is possible that Vivien and Bertran arrived with Bernard, as above.) We know that *Aliscans* preserves evidence that Bertran conducted his father's troops.<sup>4</sup> Nothing is said in N of the Normans.<sup>5</sup> Vivien wounds Tibaut, thus closing the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the earliest ascription to our hero of the conquest of this city is in the *Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, pub. by F. FITA AND J. VINSON (Paris, 1882), p. 27. The date of this compilation is about 1130.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by M. MEYER, *loc. cit.*, p. 606.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, pp. 499 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 4929-31. Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 127, 128; *Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note, however, what is said of the arrival at court of Bernard and the other brothers: "tutti si ritrovarono a la corte, con molti altri signori di ponente" (*loc. cit.*, p. 456). This, of course, does not in any way indicate that Bernard had with him a division of Normans.

battle, but does not kill him. It will be seen that this last is the only divergence of importance between the two stories.<sup>1</sup>

This priceless passage thus bears out the account of the battle which ends the long siege in N, and bears it out with a fidelity which inspires confidence in the remainder of the story as given by Andrea da Barberino. A more complete justification could hardly be looked for. With the siege thus established in its main lines, with accumulating evidence to prove the expedition of Vivien to Galicia and his conquest of the Catalonian cities, the critical worth of the *Storie Nerbonesi* is shown beyond peradventure, and a new era in the studies on Guillaume has indeed arrived.<sup>2</sup>

L. 787 shows that Vivien slays the one who has given him his death wound. This, as has already been said, is a very ancient version, and appears in N and in the *Willehalm*.

L. 932: *Li quons Willame ert a Barzelune*. This line and

<sup>1</sup> Few additions to our knowledge brought by the *Willame* are more significant for the development of epic legends in Old French than this, that Tibaut originally perished in the battle which closed the siege. The fact that later legends brought him to life again testifies not only to the value of his personality from the literary standpoint, but to a temporary decadence in the poems which sang of Guillaume, for, if these poems had been continuous in their popularity, it would have been more difficult to accomplish his revival. As it was, he was so effectually revived that the only trace of his original demise in existence today in Old French is a single line of the *Chanson de Willame*. A glance at *Foucon*, N, and the *Willehalm*, to mention no other sources, indicates the use made of him in later poems. The language of the *Vita*, interpreted literally, would, as JONCKBLOET (*Guill. d'Orange*, Vol. II, p. 69) rightly observes, allow us to suppose that Tibaut perished in the battle before Orange: "Willelmus . . . ad urbem Arausicam agmina disponit et castra, quam illi Hispani cum suo Theobaldo jampridem occupaverant, ipsam facile ac brevi caesis atque fugatis eripit inuasoribus." PH. A. BECKER, *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, p. 36, does not think that Tibaut perished at the siege, and such has always been the author's opinion. MR. BECKER, however, in his *Altfranz. Sagenkreis*, p. 50, places correctly Deramé as the leader of the Saracens in the Archamp; cf. also his fuller statement, *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, pp. 57, 58, an analysis whose only errors are the insertion of Garin and Hunaut.

This is not the occasion for a summary of the evidence that establishes fully the account of the siege in N, nor for a discussion of the presence or absence of Tibaut in *Aliscans*. Let it be said, however, that the continued existence of this hero was facilitated by the fact that a portion of the *Siège d'Orange*, in which he played the great rôle among the Saracens, was combined with other elements to form the conclusion of *Aliscans*. The first part of this epic came from the battle which opens the *Willame*; Tibaut was dead, and is not mentioned. He does, however, appear in the conclusion of *Aliscans*, and is among those who escape.

<sup>2</sup> The comment of PH. A. BECKER on the account of N, *Quellenwert der Storie N.*, pp. 32 ff., is instructive reading, and inspires melancholy thoughts as to literary research. See also the concluding sentence of the volume, p. 50: "Wir haben die Frage aufgeworfen, welchen Wert die *Storie Nerbonesi* als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte der altfranzösischen Heldendichtung haben mögen. Ich antworte: Keinen!" One is reminded of Jeffrey's "This will never do!"



the preceding, which also mentions Barcelona, establish the statement of N.<sup>1</sup>

L. 935: The hero is said to have just returned from a severe battle at Bordeaux, where he lost a large part of his men. He mentions this loss in l. 1017. We know, in fact, that there figured anciently in the career of Guillaume an expedition to this city.<sup>2</sup> The *Covenant* may show a knowledge of this expedition, if we are to judge by ll. 837-40 of that poem.

Ll. 960 ff.: These lines repeat the message as given at the beginning of the epic, and present the form in which the first announcement of the invasion may have reached the hero at Orange, according to N.

L. 962: This line has already been shown to be corrupt. No authority whatever attaches to the word *France* here.

Ll. 1010-12: This passage is important, indicating a stage of the story at which the heroine had recently assumed allegiance to the family of the hero. L. 994 (cf. l. 684) offers no objection to this supposition, since it presents a mere commonplace.

L. 1073: *I dunc a primes fu Girard adubé* squares with what has preceded. We have seen him seize the arms of Estormi, and have shown by the *Enfances* that he was not yet a knight. Two other passages are to be cited in this connection: l. 459, where Vivien says to him, seeing him arrayed in his stolen armor, *Cosin Girard, des quant ies chevalier?* and l. 928, where he is qualified as *esquier*.

L. 1107: *Les sarazins de Segune tere*: "Segune tere" may be a corruption for *Terrascone*, *Terragone*, the name for Terragona. If we examine the passage in question, we shall see that the Saracens of or from "Segune tere" attack Guillaume first, and that they inflict on him fatal injury. If we turn to the story as told by N, we find that the enemy landed in several detachments, and that the one which landed at Terragona arrived later than the others, hence took no part in the defeat of Vivien, but

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 160: "Passato Guicciardo [Girart] tutta l' oste per virtù del buon cavallo, la notte vegniente giunse a Barzalona, e raccontò tutta la imbasciata al conte Guglielmo." In a number of articles the author has asserted that the account of N was correct; *vide*, for instance, *Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Couronnement L.*, ll. 2020 ff.; cf. *Charroi*, l. 158, *Chrestom.*, of P. MEYER, p. 244.

that it came fresh to the field at the very moment of the approach of Guillaume. The text says: "costò il loro tardare caro a Guglielmo, come seguirà."<sup>1</sup> In fact, they attack the Christian army, and are one of the main causes of its destruction. The words just quoted are to be compared with ll. 1117 ff.: *Par icels orrez dolereuses noveles*, etc.

Ll. 1211 ff.: These lines, which have a fine epic ring, have already been applied to Vivien: ll. 772 ff., 912 ff.

Ll. 1228 ff.: In her husband's absence Guibor has raised a new army—an act which may be of value in determining the matter of two redactions. Before his first departure, we were told that he had lost a large part of his men, yet he goes away with thirty thousand, and we do not know how he has obtained them. It is likely that Guibor is there, as here, the means of procuring fresh troops. We may well infer also from a subsequent passage (ll. 2379 ff.) that, after his second defeat, she has made some preparation for a new army. She plays the same rôle in a familiar passage of the *Covenant*.<sup>2</sup>

L. 1254: The mention of Louis as a possible participant in the battle is of great value, and reminds us at once of the first three lines of the epic, where it is said that Deramé made war on Louis, *nostre empereur*.

Ll. 1257–68, cited by M. Meyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 608), are of the greatest importance, as showing what epics were sung at the time; they treated of Clovis (whose baptism is mentioned), Floovent, Pepin, Charlemagne, Roland, Olivier, and Girart de Vienne—a refreshing and inspiring list.

L. 1288, *Ja Vivien le cunte vif mes ne verras*, like all the passages announcing the death of the young hero, cannot be too closely examined, for they touch vitally the question of two redactions. We have apparently been present at Vivien's death: ll. 912–27—a passage which has double weight because it repeats ll. 772 ff., which we have already seen to contain the traditional death scene. His death is mentioned in other passages of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1124 ff. The proprietary interest which she manifests in the troops of her husband is clearly seen in *Aliscans*.

"redaction A": ll. 1311, 1372; ll. 1469 and 1596, 1597 should be mentioned also in this category.

Ll. 1321-23 offer good evidence that the epic traditions of the family of Guillaume were well established, and that various poems must have been known for a long time previous to the date of the composition of the *Willame*. Indeed, there is evidence on every side which indicates that the *geste* had long since attained a bountiful development.

Ll. 1351 ff.: Guibor asks permission to deceive the assembled knights: *Ore me laissez mentir*, etc. It is interesting to note that Guichart, her nephew, shows a similar aptitude: *Jo sai mentir* (l. 1533). Is it going too far to say that there is here some slight evidence of *la nouvelle convertie* of whom we have already spoken? In the case of Guichart, as the events prove, there can be no doubt; he has received merely a varnish of Christianity. The portrait of Guibor which the poem offers deserves to rank among the celebrated ones of Old French literature. What an admirable scene, for example, occurs in ll. 1361 ff., where, immediately after the terrible news of disaster and death, she mounts the stairs singing, charms the knights, and persuades them to enlist under the banner of her defeated lord, flashing before their eyes the prospect of easy victory, of gold and silver, rich lands and beautiful brides! Small wonder that many a one yielded

Qui en l'Archamp perdi puis la teste!

RAYMOND WEEKS.

COLUMBIA, Mo.